

An Humble

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ADDRESS

TO THE
KNIGHTS, CITIZENS,
AND

BURGESSES,

Elected to represent the

COMMONS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

IN THE

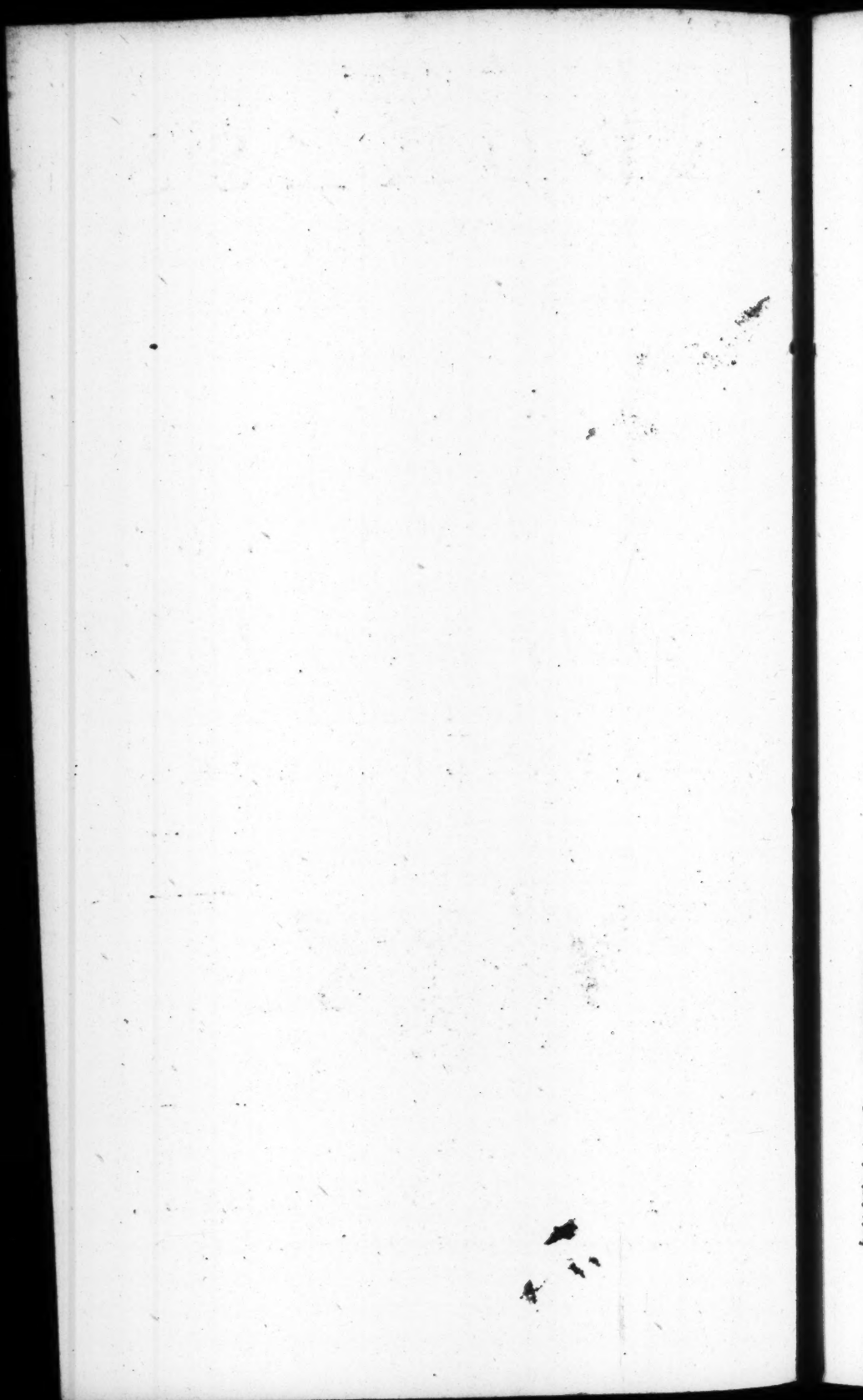
Ensuing PARLIAMENT.

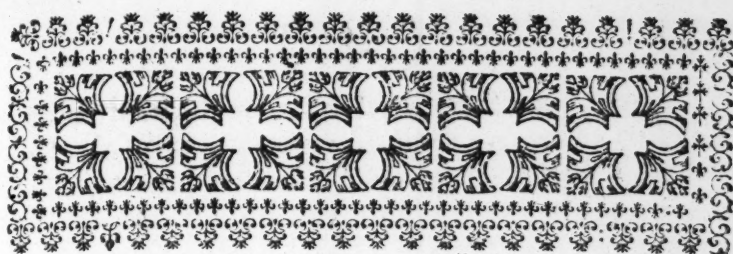
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An H U M B L E

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T O T H E

K N I G H T S , C I T I Z E N S

A N D

B U R G E S S E S , & c .

G E N T L E M E N ,



Y O U are now invested with the whole representative Power of the Commons of *Great Britain*; a Trust, the most honourable and important, that can be conferr'd upon Subjects and Freemen. Not only our Lives, our Liberties and our Estates are at your Disposal, but even the Preservation of our excellent *Constitution*, and the very Being of the *British* Name depend upon your honest and prudent Conduct, at this critical Con-
juncture.

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I must therefore beg Leave, with great Humility, to offer you some Considerations on the Part, which a *British House of Commons* ought to take at such a Crisis; for though you are certainly invested with a plenary Authority, and cannot be controul'd in your Conduct by any Persons without Doors, after your Election; yet every good Man will be glad to know the Sentiments of Those, whom he represents, and to give their Arguments a fair Hearing, at least, whether they may have Force enough to convince his Judgment, or not. This is all the Privilege we claim, by applying to our *Representatives*; and as it hath been frequently exercised, upon extraordinary Occasions, without giving any Offence, I must rely on the same Indulgence on the present Emergency, which is as great and important as ever awaken'd the Attention of this Nation.

In the first Place, you will do well to consider that you are a *new Representative of the People*, and every Gentleman ought to look upon Himself as such, whether he hath ever sat in former Parliaments, or not. All past Errors and Miscarriages are now cancell'd, as far as your *Parliamentary Capacity* extends, (for That is very different from the *ministerial Office*) and you now set out again with fresh Powers, as new Men. Nothing therefore, which was done in the *last Parliament*, ought to preclude your Freedom of Judgment in the *ensuing*; nor determine you, right or wrong, to persevere in the same Course. Some Gentlemen, perhaps, may have been formerly govern'd too much by *Party Considerations*, and others by *personal Attachments*, or *Prejudices*; but Time and the Event of Things must have now convinced Them that they follow'd false Guides, and will induce them, no doubt, to cast them off for the future.—If any others should have suffer'd Themselves to be
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fluenced by *worse Motives*, They have now an Opportunity of purging their Characters, and making some Atonement to their Country, by a more just and honourable Conduct.

These Considerations relate only to *those Gentlemen*, who have already enjoy'd Seats in Parliament. But there are amongst you great Numbers of *new Members*, strictly so call'd, to whom this Address is more particularly, and indeed more chearfully directed; for as These consist chiefly of *young Gentlemen*, who have hitherto had no Share in the Guilt, or Folly of any former Measures, We may apply to Them with more Freedom, and Hopes of Success.

To you, *Gentlemen*, in this fatal Crisis, to you does the Nation commit her Interests, and from you does she hope her Preservation. You are come up, as it were, to a Trial of your Characters; and they will forever retain the Impressions, which you now stamp upon them. If you keep them pure and un sullied, their Currency will be universal; but if you mix them up with the base Alloy of a *Minister*, you tarnish their Lustre, and lessen their Weight; they will generally be return'd upon your Hands, or pass only within the *Verge of Corruption*.

You are at present unengaged, uncorrupted, and we hope uninfluenced. Two Paths lye before you. Which to follow, is a very serious and important Consideration. If, at first setting out, you chuse the wrong, you will soon be bewilder'd, and it may never be in your Power to quit it more. The Paths of *Corruption* insensibly lead to the Precipice of *Infamy*, from whence there is no Return. But we depend on your making a right Choice. There is an *Honesty* natural to *Youth*; there is a Spirit unbroken by Complaisance; there is a Sense of Shame,

Shame, and a generous Regard to Reputation. All These are so many Warrants of your behaving in a Manner, that becomes you ; and till you lose These, your Country will not lose you. But be assured, no Artifice will be wanting to divest you of them ; and such Methods have formerly been too successful, not to give us some Apprehensions of their prevailing to your Dishonour, unless you are premonished and forearmed against them.

If *Luxury*, if *Pleasure* can make you sacrifice your Morals to your Appetites ; if the childish Pomp of *Strings* and *empty Names* can flatter your Imaginations ; they will all be employ'd to draw you off from the honest Bent of your natural Disposition. But if the Candour of your yet-untainted Minds should reject these Allurements with Disdain ; then a more artful Attempt will be made upon you ; then you will be told that this Horror of *Corruption*, this *Spartan* and *Roman* Virtue, is the Effect of your Ignorance of the World, and a Speculation only fit for School-boys. The Force of *Ridicule* will be likewise try'd, and you'll be facetiously call'd *hopeful young Saints* and *Patriots*. Men of reputed Abilities will be set on to warn you of the Usefulness and Folly of these high-flown Notions. You will be told they are romantick, impracticable, the Bane of all Business, and the Contempt of every Man of Sense. Little false Confidences will be made you of the private Views of *Gentlemen in Opposition* ; Bits of Scandal thrown out upon their Characters ; and an Opinion inculcated, that the Dispute on *either Side* is only for *Power*, not *Principles*. Thus, by Degrees, They will hope to bring you to an Indifference for *both Sides*, and a Regard for nothing but *yourself* ; a necessary Consequence of which is a devoting of all
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your Actions to *present Profit*, and joining with *Those*, who offer most.

Should This fail; should you be firm enough to maintain, against the Fashion of the Times, against the Example of many of your Acquaintance, and against the Weight of superior Authority, that there is something real in *publick Spirit*, *Integrity* and *Freedom*; you will be laugh'd at for *honest, simple Fellows*, and a quite different Language will be used to you. You will then hear of nothing but the Cause of *Whiggism*; the Danger we are in from the *Tories*; the Necessity of uniting, under the Standard of the *present M——r*. You will be told that *Liberty* and *Property*, the *Protestant Succession*, the *Peace of Europe*, *Religion*, *Toleration*, *Trade* and *publick Credit*, are all seated and center'd in *his Person*; all supported, and supportable alone, by the Continuance and Increase of *his Power*. Unhappy Nation! where all these Blessings depend upon the single Thread of *one Man's Life*, so near being spun out.—If not cut off! —Should you ask the Reason of this wonderful Connection between a *single Man* and *all these Things*; should you enquire why the Nation is reduced to an intire Dependance upon *one Subject*, and what Proofs of Ability, or Virtue, *that Subject* hath given to deserve such a prodigious Degree of Trust, such a Delegation of more than *Royal Power*; it will be answered that he was a *Whig* so long ago as in Queen *Anne's* Reign, and hath never acted with the *Tories* but once, when he was *out of Place*.

If This should not convince you; if you should examine his *Principles* by his *Conduct*, and conclude on good Proofs that this boasted *Whiggism* is nothing more than a vain and fallacious Name to varnish over the Acts of *arbitrary Power*; you will be called *Jacobites* by all the *foul-mouth'd Tools of ministerial*

ministerial Defamation; whilst many of *Those*, to whom that Appellation notoriously belongs, are graced with the Favour of the *M——r*, and are the most zealous *Agents for his Interests*. Perhaps too *Frowns* may be play'd upon you, and you may be mark'd out for all those *Mortifications*, which the *best Subjects* have been forced to undergo for the Sake of the *worst*. But let not This discourage you. Such Delusions cannot, must not long prevail, even where They have taken the deepest Root. *Disgrace* and *Favour* will recover their proper Channels. A short Time must turn the *former* upon *Those*, who so indecently triumph in and abuse the *latter*. And then what will be the Circumstances of *Those* amongst you, who have mingled your selves with the Dregs of this Iniquity, and deck'd your selves vainly in the worn-out Robes, the soil'd and dirty Purple of a *despised* and *detested Faction against their Country*? Surely, nothing can be more wrong, in Point of *Interest*, (if *Interest* ought at all to be considered, where *Duty* is concerned) than for a *young Gentleman*, in the opening of his Life, to forfeit all Claim to the Reward of Merit to his Country in better, and probably not distant Times, for the Sake of a little, present temporary Gain, obtain'd and preserved on the most servile Terms. Such a Conduct would resemble That of some *young Men*, who are in so much Haste to be settled, as They call it, that They marry a *common Whore*, rather than wait for a proper Establishment.

If then the Reasons, which might induce you to forsake the Interests of your *Country*, are so weak and unconvincing; how much may be urged on the *other Side* to encourage you to act agreeably to your own unbiass'd Sentiments? *Young Minds* are generally moved by *great Examples*; and the
greatest

greatest are not wanting, on this Occasion, to animate and instruct you. Look round the Nation for the Men of the *highest Dignity*, the *most acknowledged Wisdom*, and *try'd Integrity*; you shall find Them engaged in the same Cause, to which you are now invited to accede, and ready to assist you with their Lights, their Credit, and their Friendship. By the Advantage of this Participation, you yourselves will soon become considerable too; far more considerable than the highest Millions of HIM you oppose. Those amongst you, who are born to great Estates, are, by the Independency of your Condition, superior to any, that hold the proudest Fortunes at the Pleasure, and by the precarious Favour of a *Court*. And should there be any in less affluent Circumstances, what immortal Honour will They gain, if by Oeconomy, and a generous Contempt of superfluous Pleasures, They can withstand the Force of that Temptation? What will They lose by so doing? Will They be received with less Esteem and Regard in the best Companies, because They are not brought there in an Equipage, purchased at the Expence of *their own Virtue*, and the *Civil List*? Or will They not be distinguished and recommended by *that Virtue*, more than They could by their Expence? Is the *Spirit of a Man of Quality* a worse Mark of good Birth and Breeding, than *superfluous Expence*, and *tawdry Pomp*; in which too, at best, you will be eclipsed by twenty *Sharps* about Town, who are as justly proud of their lucky Hits at *White's*, as you can be of yours at *St. James's*, and who stand equal with you in real Merit, as well as in the Opinion of Mankind? What then is this mighty Sacrifice, that your Country requires from you? It is only to give up some trifling Vanities, which fall to the Share of every *Coxcomb*; to separate yourselves

selves from the Herd of *Those*, who are even the Contempt of the *Masters* they serve ; and to place your Pride in the solid Superiority of a Mind above Dependance, and a Reputation without Attaint. Different, very different, is the Sacrifice demanded from you by the *Man*, that would corrupt you. Honour, Conscience, and the Esteem of honest Men, present Peace, and future Expectations, all must be given up to fleeting Favour, and perhaps to a bare Promise of Preferment. Judge therefore which is likely to cost you most ; and if, when the Account is rightly ballanced, you find *Virtue* more eligible than *Vice*, you will leave all *Those* without Excuse, who in higher Fortunes shall make a meaner Choice, and part with real Advantages to support imaginary Wants.

If I may be allow'd to add a lighter Argument to the many serious and solid ones, which I have already urged ; give me Leave to tell you that, upon this Choice, depends the Opinion Mankind will entertain of your *Parts*, as well as of your *Probity*. Would you make any Figure in the *gay*, the *polite*, and *witty Part of the World*, you must not unite yourselves to *Those*, who have so long been the Objects of their *Mirth*, and whose *Ridicule*, justly acquired and indelibly fixed, sheds its ridiculous Influence over all their *Dependents*.

There is one Caution more to be observed, without which all the rest will be ineffectual, and you will faint in the Midst of your Career. If it should happen that your Ardour, in pursuing this glorious Cause, does not meet with immediate Success ; if Difficulties and Obstructions should arise ; do not therefore conclude that all is lost, and sit down with an Opinion that it is useless to contend any farther. Such a desponding Turn of Mind cannot possibly do you any Good ; but it may render

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der those Distempers past Recovery, which it is yet in your Power to cure. Remember the wise Maxim of antient *Rome* ; *nolite desperare de Republicâ*. No, Gentlemen, all is not lost, till you lose yourselves, and enervate your Strength by a forlorn and pusillanimous Despair. Do but hope, do but struggle, and you will conquer. When in the Consternation and Affright, that seized the *Romans*, after the great Defeat at *Cannæ*, the Senators were so discouraged as to deliberate whether they should not leave the City, and retire immediately to some Place of Safety ; *Scipio*, then a Youth, being inform'd of their Consultation, came into their Assembly with his Sword drawn, and obliged Them by Force to take an Oath *not to abandon the Commonwealth*. This Action of Vigour had a sudden and stupendous Effect ; the *Roman* Intrepidity revived ; and the Enemy ceased to be formidable, when He ceased to be fear'd. In like Manner, it becomes you, *Gentlemen*, to undertake the Defence of the Commonwealth, in this nice and dangerous Conjunction, if you see it abandon'd by *older*, or *greater Men*. The Example of your Courage will revive their fainting Spirits, and shame Them into a more generous Resolution. You are certainly to look upon yourselves as the last Resource of this Constitution. Amongst Those, who have been longer versed in Business, many are harden'd in *Guilt* by familiar Practice ; many infatuated by an habitual Course of *Blunders* ; and too many sunk deep in a *supine, unresisting Indolence*. When History shall speak of the present Age, in what Colours will it paint the *low Depravity*, to which we are fallen ? How *corrupt*, how *effeminate*, how prone to *Slavery* will it represent us ? And how justly shall we suffer the Reproach of all Posterity ? But in this black and inglorious Scene, what a noble

Contraste, what a shining Figure will you make, if the same History shall relate that *this Corruption* was check'd, this *Slavery* and *Ruin* prevented, by the Virtue of an *hundred young Men*, who stood in the Gap, and saved their Country?

Having address'd you thus far in general, it may be expected that I should descend into some Particulars, relating to the *Parliamentary Function*, as well as the present State of Affairs, both at home and abroad.

The first Step to be taken, at the Opening of a *new Parliament*, is the Choice of a proper Person to fill the *Chair*, and preside over that illustrious Assembly; but as there will probably be no Contention, upon this Account, I shall not trouble you with any Considerations upon it.

The Practice of summoning the Members to the *Cock-Pit*, by a ministerial Writ, and haranguing Them there, before his Majesty opens the Session with a Speech from the Throne, is but of modern Date, and may be justly rank'd amongst those Improvements, which have been lately made on our *Constitution*. I don't know exactly how long this Custom may have prevailed, nor is it of much Importance to the Publick; but I may venture to affirm that it hath been carried farther, within a very few Years, than it ever was before; having not only been punctually observed at the Beginning of every Session, but even prostituted to the Service of *particular Jobs*; to stop Enquiries into *Frauds* of the most pernicious Nature; to screen *Delinquents* of the worst Kind; and infringe that *Liberty of voting*, which is always peculiarly intended by a *BALLOT*.

There is something very ridiculous, as well as unparliamentary, in these *ministerial Conventions*. Their first Assembly is commonly held at the *Minister's*

nister's own House, three or four Days before the Meeting of *Parliament*, and consists only of a few *trusty Creatures*, who are called together, in order to peruse the *King's Speech*, and consider of proper Persons to move for and second the *Address*. *These Gentlemen*, who are generally proposed by the *Minister* Himself, after a self-denying Speech, modestly declining so great an Honour, and desiring it may be put into abler Hands, are at last overcome and prevailed upon to undertake it. At the same Time, these *choice Friends* are let into the State of Affairs, as far as is necessary, and instructed what to say, in Case of a Debate, upon several particular Points. — But to resume the Business of the *Address*; which, perhaps, is likewise drawn up and settled, long before They met, as well as the *Speech*; for it hath been the Practice of some *late Ministers* not only to put whatever They think fit into their *Master's* Mouth, (which is commonly a Panegyrick on Themselves, or a Justification of their Measures,) but likewise to do the same kind Office for the *Parliament*, and make Them echo back the Substance of it, by Way of *Address*. When these Points are settled in the *ministerial Cabinet*, for so I may call it, a general Assembly of all the *well-affected* is summoned to meet, a Day or two afterwards, at the *Cock-Pit*; where the same Farce is acted over again, in a more circumstantial, and solemn Manner. The *Minister* produces a Copy of the *Speech*; which being read and received with great Applause, it is resolved, *ne-mine contradicente*, to promote a loyal and dutiful Address to his Majesty upon it, not only to return Him Thanks for so *gracious a Speech*, but to applaud the *Wisdom of all his Measures*, and to assure Him of their chearful Concurrence to any *Supplies*, that may be judged necessary, in the present Exigency;

Exigency; in this Manner deviating from the antient Practice of Parliament, which consisted only in returning his Majesty Thanks for his Speech, in general; whereas This is a previous Engagement to satisfy all the Demands of a *Court*; and though it may be understood at home to be only a Compliment of Course, it certainly carries a different Aspect abroad, and looks as if the *Parliament* had in a Lump approved of all the Measures of the Administration. Then the *Persons*, agreed upon before to move and second *this Address*, are proposed by another worthy Gentleman, who is likewise let into the Secret, and unanimously approved. Here again They modestly decline it, as if there had been no previous Meeting, and again with great Importunity are prevailed upon to accept it.—What makes this Scene still more diverting is, that when the *Commons* return to their own *House* from the *House of Lords*, after his Majesty hath made his Speech, the *Speaker* always tells them, in a formal Manner, that He hath, with great Difficulty, obtain'd a Copy of it; when above half the Members, perhaps, had seen, or heard it read, a Day or two before. — That there have been such Practices, in former Times, cannot be deny'd; but as They are certainly *unparliamentary*, and *anticonstitutional*, they ought to be prevented for the future; at least, it behoves every Gentleman, who hath the Honour to be sent up with a Commission from the *People*, to beware of the Artifices made Use of in these novel Assemblies, and to keep Himself unengaged till the whole Merit of every Point, that is to come before Him, is fully opened and explained by a free Debate on both Sides.

The next Point to be consider'd in Order, as well as Importance, is the *Committee of Privileges and Elections*; which is a Sort of a *Court of Judicature*,

dicature, for the Decision of *Parliamentary Disputes*, and therefore all Proceedings in it ought to be conducted with the utmost Regard to Justice and Honour. Yet I am very sorry to observe that, in some former Parliaments, *these Committees* have been most scandalously abused, and made the servile Instruments of a *prevailing Faction* in the House, or an *insolent, domineering Minister*. The Misfortune is, that Gentlemen are apt to think Themselves at Liberty to vote, upon *these Occasions*, just as their Interests, or Inclinations, or Friendships, or Alliances, or other private Considerations, may direct Them, without any Regard to the Merits of the Cause. Nay, it is become a common Practice to solicit *these Points* publickly, and to beg the Votes and Interest of particular Members for such or such an Election, if They are not pre-engaged. To This We must add that the Examinations, in *such Cases*, not being upon Oath, there is commonly too much Lying on both Sides; which gives the bad Part of the House a Pretence for favouring which Side They please, and lays even the most impartial Judges under some Difficulty to determine where the Right lies. But whatever some Gentlemen may think, or pretend to think, an equitable Determination of *these Disputes* is so essential to the *Freedom and Independency of Parliament*, that as no private Influence whatsoever ought to byass your Judgments, so no Attention should be wanting to inform them. It is impossible to lay down any particular Rules for making a right Judgment upon *these Occasions*; but I believe it will be too often found true that when *Persons in Office* become *Petitioners*, They have no other Right to sit in Parliament, than what They expect from the Power of a *Minister*, and the Partiality of the *House*. Nay, many have been known to
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stand Candidates with no other View ; for when a *Minister* finds the Country run so strongly against Him, that with all his Power and Corruption He can get only a very *inconsiderable Majority*, nothing is more common than to send his Creatures about to different Boroughs, with Orders to oppose Country Gentlemen at all Adventures. No Matter for the *natural Interest of the Place*, or the *apparent Inclinations of the People* ; no, nor even for the *Poll, Declaration, and Return*. Their *standing Candidates* alone gives Them a Pretence of *Petitioning*, and their *Patron* an Opportunity of weeding the House, as it is call'd, of obnoxious Members. But This, *Gentlemen*, is a Practice of the most dangerous Consequence, which may come to affect you all, and ought to be effectually discountenanced before it is too late ; for what avails the boasted Right of *Englishmen* to chuse their own *Representatives*, if their Election is to be set aside, in this Manner ? All Members brought in by such Means, are certainly the *Representatives of the MINISTER*, not of the PEOPLE. — Alas ! without any such Proceedings, every *Ministry* hath too much Influence in the Choice of a *Parliament* ; nor have They any great Reason to triumph in their Success, as a Mark of Wisdom or Dexterity, when We look either *Northward*, or *Westward*, and see *particular Agents, or Undertakers*, sent down to negotiate for whole Counties, in *one Place*, and for all the Members of both Houses of the Legislature, in the *other*. Besides This, there are Numbers of Boroughs, which are distinguished by *several Offices*, and are thought to be so much the Properties of them, that They are called *Treasury-Boroughs, Admiralty-Boroughs, Ordinance-Boroughs, Victualling-Boroughs, &c.* Nay, every *Governor of a Town*, that sends Members to Parliament, thinks

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He hath a Right to be one, and hath such a Power of distressing and harassing Them, that They are commonly obliged to gratify Him in his Expectations.

Attendance is so necessary a Duty in *Members of Parliament*, that it may seem almost impertinent to put you in mind of it ; and yet it hath been so commonly neglected, in former Parliaments, that the warmest Exhortations on this Head deserve your Excuse. If Gentlemen would but seriously reflect on the Nature of the Trust, which is reposed in Them, and which They have undertaken to execute, nay perhaps solicited it with great Importance, and at last obtain'd it in Exclusion of others, who would have been proud to execute it ; if they would be pleased to consider that the People have chosen Them their *Attornies*, to transact Matters of the highest Importance between *Them* and the *Crown*, in Conjunction with the *Peers of the Realm* ; and that the Liberties and Properties of a whole Nation depend on a faithful Execution of this Trust ; if Gentlemen, I say, would give themselves Time to make such Reflections as These, they must think Themselves bound by all the Ties of Conscience, Honour and Gratitude, to perform their Engagements, by a strict and constant Attendance on the Business of the Publick ; for what Excuse can any Gentleman make to Those, whom He represents, if a Point of the utmost Consequence to the Nation should happen to be lost by a *single Voice*, whilst He was in Pursuit of a Fox in the Country, or perhaps loitering away his Time in Town ? Such Things have frequently happened in Parliament ; and it is incumbent upon every Gentleman, who wishes well to his Country, or even pretends to any Regard for it, to take care that they do not happen again. It is always the Duty of *Parliament-Men* to give their Attendance in

the House ; because They don't know what Designs may be secretly in Agitation, or when They may break out ; but at such a critical Time as This, confess'd to be so on both Sides, the Absence of any Gentleman, whose Health will permit Him to do his Duty, would be absolutely inexcuseable. It hath been justly compared to the skulking of a *Soldier* on the Day of *Battle*, and will appear the more scandalous, when we consider that *ill-designing Men* will be always sure to attend, in Hopes of enriching Themselves on the Spoils of the Publick.

There is no Occasion to make use of any farther Arguments to enforce the Obligation of this Duty on the Gentlemen, who compose the *present Parliament* ; for I presume that even Curiosity itself will excite Them to give their Attendance at the opening of a *new Parliament* ; in which the great Affairs of *Peace* and *War*, as well as some *other Matters* equally important, will in all Probability come before Them. But let no Gentleman think that He hath done his Duty to his Country, by being, perhaps, pretty constant in his Attendance, at the Beginning of a Session, or even till all the great Points, as He imagines, are over. No, the Nature of his Duty requires a constant Attendance, not only every Session, but during the whole Session ; since his Absence may prove as detrimental to his Country at the latter End, as at the Beginning. Those are the Times, to which *Ministers* commonly reserve all *unpopular Points*, in Hopes of a thin House ; and the Success of this Policy, in too many Instances, ought to determine you not to give Them the same Opportunities for the future. I shall only put you in mind that the *Excise-Bill* was thrown out by the strict Attendance of those *worthy Members*, who opposed it,
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and that the late *Vote of Credit* was facilitated, at least, by *Non-Attendance*.

The present State of Affairs, both at home and abroad, is so fully explained in *two Pamphlets* lately published, which are now in almost every Body's Hands, that I shall have but very little to add upon those Heads.

In * *one of these Pieces* you will find a minute and exact Deduction of our *foreign Negotiations* from the Year 1724 to the breaking out of the War between *France* and the *Emperor*; with the different Sentiments of *both Parties* upon the Progress of them, from Time to Time, and the *Events*, with which They have been attended. — From hence, *Gentlemen*, you will immediately discern to *whom* the present Distractions of *Europe* are owing; and whether *Those*, who abetted, or opposed these Transactions, in the *last Parliament*, were the truest Friends to the Interest and Honour of these Kingdoms. From hence you will likewise be able to form a Judgment of any *future Treaties*, or *Negotiations*, which may happen to be laid before you, and how far it will be your Duty to approve, or disapprove them; That is, whether they have a natural Tendency to extricate us out of that Maze of Engagements, in which We are already involved, or to plunge us into fresh Difficulties, and render our Case absolutely irretrievable.

What may be the present and immediate Situation of our Affairs *abroad*, I shall not pretend to determine; nor is it possible for any Man to form a reasonable Conjecture upon it from those Lights, which have been hitherto afforded us. We see, indeed, the Ballance of *Europe* quite overturn'd, and the Labour of half a Century, as well as that

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infinite

* *The Politicks on both Sides, &c.*

infinite Expence, which hath attended it, almost thrown away. It is extremely difficult for Those, who view only the Outside of Things, and are not let into the Secret of Affairs, to judge what is proper and expedient for us to do, in such a Conjunction; but an *honest Parliament*, which hath a Power to call for, and insist upon any Lights, will soon be able to discover the right Path, if any right Path is still left us in such a bewilder'd Situation of Affairs, and will not do any Thing, without the fullest Information. I wish it may not appear, upon this Enquiry, that we have been officiously dipping our Hands in many Things, which did not belong to us, and thereby involving our selves in a Multitude of needless Expences.—How different from This is the Conduct of the *States General*, who have not only avoided all these Difficulties and Expences, for the Time past, but have taken their Measures so prudently, as to avoid them for the ensuing Year?

In the * *other Piece*, which I mentioned, the Conduct of our *domestick Affairs* is laid open, in the same plain Manner, by a particular Enquiry into the Case of our *national Debts*, the *sinking Fund*, and all extraordinary Grants of Money, from the Year 1721 to Christmas 1733.—Here, Gentlemen, you may see to what a deplorable State our Affairs are reduced *at home*; that *new Debts* have been heap'd upon us, as fast as any Part of the *old ones* was paid off; that the Progress of the *sinking Fund* in that good Work hath been frequently interrupted, and at length intirely stopt; that such *unprecedented Grants of Money* have been made, and all the *Revenues* so far anticipated, in Times of *Peace*, that it seems almost impracticable to raise
Supplies,

* *An Enquiry into the Conduct of our domestick Affairs, &c.*

Supplies, for supporting the most just and necessary War, without such *new* and *grievous Impositions* as neither We nor our Children shall be able to bear.

For this Reason, you will think it highly incumbent upon you, as faithful Guardians of the People, not to authorize any *Measures*, nor to grant any *extraordinary Sums of Money*, nor to impose any *new Taxes* upon them, without the strictest Examination into the Reasons alledg'd for them, and the fullest Conviction that they are absolutely necessary for the Safety, or Prosperity of the Kingdom. You will not, like some *former Parliaments*, carry your Complaisance to the *Crown* so far, as to extinguish all Regard for the Interests of *Those*, whom you represent; nor suffer your selves to be catch'd by that stale Artifice, of making an implicit Concurrence with all the Proposals of a *Minister* the only Criterion of Loyalty to your *Prince*, and Zeal for his *Government*. No, *Gentlemen*, you have already seen too much of *these Delusions*, and the unhappy Consequences of them; for as they have undeniably impoverish'd the Nation, so I with I could not say that They have tended, at least, to alienate the Affections of the People from that *august House*, for whose Interest the *Deluders* pretend so great a Concern. Nothing therefore can demonstrate your Regard for the Safety of the *present Establishment* so effectually, in our present Circumstances, as the *most rigorous Frugality*, and the Redress of all *those Grievances*, which have made the People in general so uneasy, not to say clamorous. Besides, none of you can now want to be informed that the Multiplication of *Taxes*, and the vast Number of *additional Officers* for the Collection and Management of them, have increased the *Power of the Crown* to such a Degree, that they are become formidable to our *Liberties*, as well as
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a constant Drain for our *Properties*, and might soon be made to absorb both, under any other Reign than the present. Every Circumstance therefore concurs to dissuade you from increasing *these Taxes* and *Officers*, without the utmost Necessity; and it must be some extreme Emergency indeed, which can constitute such a Necessity, in our present Situation. You will rather endeavour to give the People some Ease from those *heavy Burthens*, under which They have groan'd so long, by putting a Stop to all *unnecessary Expences*, and establishing a more thrifty Oeconomy for the future. It hath always been the Practice of wise Nations, in Times of Danger, or Necessity, to suppress all *useless Offices of State*, and to retrench the Salaries of *others*, as well as to strike off all *needless, unmerited, and exorbitant Pensions*, in order to make a Saving for the Support of the Government, without oppressing the People. As the State of our Affairs calls very loudly for *such a Reduction*, it deserves your impartial Consideration whether the *present Form of our Administration* would not admit of it, in some Degree. Why may not one half of the Salaries of *great Employments, Sinécures, and Pensions* (excepting Those of *real Charity*) be cut off, and given in Ease of a *distressed People*, who have long bo'rn the Burthen of the Day; whilst *these Officers and Pensioners* have been rioting in all the Excesses of Luxury, and many of Them in a scandalous Manner repaying Themselves that small Proportion, which is allotted to Them in the publick Expences? But whether you should find it practicable to make any *such Retrenchments*, or not, We may assure ourselves that you will not encourage, or connive at any Addition to such *unnecessary Expences*, in our present Circumstances, nor suffer us to grow more extravagant at a Time,
when

when We have the most Occasion for Frugality. This would be like the Conduct of some *private Spend-thrifts*, who increase their *Expences* as fast as They mortgage their *Estates*, and let their *Servants* grow rich, in Proportion as *They* grow poor. — You will, at least, think it your Duty to insist upon a *select Committee*, with full Powers, to enquire into the Disposition of those *immense Sums*, which have been raised upon the People within these *thirteen*, or *fourteen Years* past. Such an Enquiry, properly conducted, would fully answer the Trouble it would give you, and clear up some Points, which might be of infinite Service to the Publick; for those mean Arts, of various Kinds, which a *certain Gentleman* hath employ'd to obstruct all Enquiries into his Conduct, amidst the loudest repeated Defyances to examine it, are tacit Confessions that there is something at the Bottom, which He dreads to have discovered, and ought to excite all your Industry and Application to find it out.

But above all Things, *Gentlemen*, we flatter ourselves that you will never give your Consent to those *unlimited Grants of Money and Power*, which have been lately introduced amongst us, and so justly alarm'd all the true Friends of our *Constitution*. History shews us that to *such Concessions* hath been owing the Loss of *Liberty*, in many Countries; and I believe no Instance can be produced of any *free People*, who were long able to preserve their *Constitution* in Vigour, after *such Concessions* became frequent and familiar to them. The Case of the *Spanish Cortes* is so well known, and hath been so fully explain'd of late, that it would be impertinent to detain you long upon it, in this Place. Give me Leave therefore only to observe, that although the Confidence reposed in *Henry the 2d*,
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by the *Cortes of Castile*, had not an immediate Effect in destroying the Freedom of *that Government*, yet the Credit and Authority of the *Cortes* began immediately to decline, and continued declining, till the Liberties of *Castile* were intirely extinguished. The Poison was sure, though it was but slow ; and, having work'd itself into the Bowels of the *Constitution*, wasted it away by Degrees, and render'd it unable, when the Attack was made, to resist it with any Effect.

Such a Vote of Credit, as I am now speaking of, is at best a *temporary Suspension of our Constitution*, and hath a natural Tendency to abolish it for ever. It is not only putting the Liberties and Properties of the People to the last Hazard, but voting your selves useless, in the most effectual Manner ; for what Influence will an *House of Commons* have, when They have not only parted with the *Purse of the People*, but divested Themselves of the *Power to call Ministers to Account, and examine their Conduct*, as They effectually do by reposing such a Confidence in the *Crown* to act at Discretion. This is laying violent Hands upon Themselves, and may be called *political Self-Murder*.

What therefore can be a greater Indignity to your Characters, as wise and honest Men, than to suppose that you will trust any Court with a *Power*, which hath proved fatal to *Liberty* in other Countries, and must be allow'd extremely dangerous to it in all ? No, *Gentlemen*, give us leave to wish, as We have Reason to hope, that you will rather come to a Resolution to craze out of your Journals all *those Precedents*, which have been already made of *such Grants*, instead of adding any *new ones* to them, and giving *future Kings, or Ministers*, a Pretence for drawing them into common Usage.

You

You will be told, no doubt, as some of your *Predecessors* have been, that no ill Use hath been hitherto made of *these Powers*, and that We may never be afraid of trusting them again to so gracious and benevolent a Prince as his *present Majesty*.

I don't know what the Gentlemen, who have already preach'd up such Doctrines, may intend by saying that *no ILL USE hath been hitherto made of THESE POWERS*. If They mean only that the Form of our *Constitution* is not yet subverted, nor our *Liberties* absolutely destroyed, I readily agree with Them; and, indeed, it would be absurd to address you, in this Manner, if We were actually reduced to such an Extremity. But They must excuse my Apprehensions that *these Powers* have already been attended with some *ill Effects*, though not of so desperate a Nature, and that they are big with many others. Let me ask Them, for Instance, whether none of the Money, granted in this Manner, was ever employed in *Pensions*, and other *secret Services*, of a more pernicious Nature, against the true Interest of these Kingdoms? Will They pretend to say that the Power of granting *Subsidies to foreign Princes*, and of making *Contracts for foreign Troops*, as well as of *augmenting our own national Forces, both by Sea and Land, without any Limitation*, was never attended, or likely to be attended, with any *bad Effects*? Let Them examine their own Hearts upon these Questions, and I believe They will find it somewhat difficult to give them an honest Answer. But supposing *such Powers* not to have been hitherto attended with any *bad Effects* whatsoever, or even to have been attended with some *good Effects*; yet the *ill Use*, that may be made of Them hereafter, is sufficient to determine you against them; for whilst
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they subsist, We can only be said to hold our Liberties by *Courtesy*, and at the *Will of the Prince*.

As to the Virtues of his *present Majesty*, which I am always ready to acknowledge, they are so far from justifying *such Grants*, that they will furnish you with a very good Argument against them; since Experience hath sufficiently taught us that whatever Concessions are made, at any Time, to a *good Prince*, in Confidence that He will make use of them for the Interest of his People, will be always claim'd by *bad Princes*, for other Purposes, and not easily deny'd, without offering Them a kind of personal Affront. A *good Prince* therefore, who hath the Happiness of his People really at Heart, will not desire to be trusted with any Powers, which some of his *Successors* may turn to their Destruction. Indeed, this Argument, drawn from the *personal good Qualities of the Prince*, is so mean a Piece of Sophistry, and hath been so fully exploded, that I am ashamed to attempt any farther Confutation of it. Besides, *such unlimited Trusts* are really of no Use to a *good Prince*, who is authorized by his *Prerogative* to exert some *extraordinary Powers*, in Case of any sudden Emergency, for the Defence of the Nation, without any direct Warrant of *Parliament*. Our *Constitution* supposes the *Crown* to be invested with *such a Power*, in Case of Necessity, and the Exercise of it must be justify'd by the Occasion. In short, a *Vote of Credit* ought to be look'd upon as a previous Indemnification for all the Measures of a *Minister*, by arming Him with a Sort of *dictatorial Power* to act as He pleases, without any Controul, or Account; for though *Ministers* are generally liberal enough of their Promises, when They ask for *such Grants*, you will find upon Enquiry that They have always desired to be excused, when call'd up-
on

on to perform them, and never yet obliged us with any *Account* ; I mean such a *particular and distinct Account*, as ought alone to give honest and reasonable Men any Satisfaction. Indeed, the *last Vote of Credit* so far exceeds all former Trusts of the same Kind, and a *certain honourable Gentleman* was pleased to bind Himself in so solemn a Promise that whatever Use should be made of it, He would lay an Account of it before the next Parliament, that We hope you will insist, with more than ordinary Earnestness, on a *distinct Account of all Sums of Money*, which may have been expended by Virtue of *this Grant*, and of the *particular Services*, for which they have been expended. I shall close this Head with observing that if *such an Account* should be now refused you, no Credit whatsoever ought to be given to any Assurances, or Protestations of that Kind, for the future.

But giving *Money*, under any Shape, was not formerly the only, nor indeed the principal Business of a *British Parliament* ; for it appears very evident from the whole Tenour of our History that *Aids and Subsidies* were commonly granted by Way of Remuneration to the *Crown*, for the Removal of *evil Ministers*, the Punishment of *enormous Crimes*, the Redress of *publick Grievances*, and the Confirmation of *popular Liberty* by good Laws. These were the *Points*, which always took the first Place, in the Parliamentary Counsels of those Times ; and, however the Case may have been since altered, ought still to prevail on the Minds of *those Gentlemen*, who think themselves obliged to fulfil the Intentions of their *Constituents*, and prefer a generous Regard for their *Country* to any mean Considerations of *private Interest*.

Let me therefore exhort you to take a View of the *last Parliament*, in this Light, and to form a

Judgment of the *two Parties*, who compos'd it, by the *different Ends* They pursu'd, and the *different Acts, or Proceedings*, which They either promoted, or oppos'd.

Should you observe, on *one Side*, a continued Scheme for loading the People with *Taxes* and *Armies*, in Times of *Peace*, for bridling Them with *oppressive Laws*, and subjecting Them to the Power of *insolent Tax-gatherers*; should there appear amongst Them an implicit Submission to all the Dictates of a *Minister*, and a constant Readiness to justify not only all his Measures, and ward off all Enquiries into his Conduct, but even to screen *Iniquities of every Kind*, and to convert *that Place*, which ought to be the Scourge and the Terror of *great Offenders*, into a Kind of Sanctuary and Asylum for Them; should *these Persons* have discovered a determined Resolution to oppose all Laws and all Provisions for preventing that devouring Evil *Corruption*, for advancing the Cause of *Liberty*, and guarding the weak Parts of our *Constitution* against the Incroachments of the *Crown*, in future Times; in short, should it be manifest, from their former Conduct, that They consult only their *own Interest*, their *own private, corrupt Interest*, without any Regard to the Happiness of their *Fellow-Subjects*, or the great Trust reposed in Them; should This, I say, appear to you, upon a Review of the Proceedings of the *last Parliament*, you will scorn to follow so detestable an Example, or to adopt the Crimes and the Infamy of *such Men*, by treading in their Steps, and giving a Sanction to their Measures.—No, *Gentlemen*, you will rather think it your Duty to concur with Those on the *other Side*, in opposing *such Measures*, and calling the *Authors* of them to a strict Account, as well as in promoting those *good and wholesome*
Laws

Laws for the Ease and Benefit of the *People*, the Protection of *Liberty*, and the Security of our *Constitution*, which the *Revolution* gave us a Right to expect, and which are still wanting to compleat it.

Give me Leave, *Gentlemen*, to be a little more particular on this Head, and to refresh your Memories with a few Instances on *both Sides*.

Do you think that it would have been any Disservice to your Country, if so large a *standing Army* had not been kept up at home, in Times of absolute Peace, at the Expence of *several Millions of Money*; or if *twelve thousand Hessians* had not been maintain'd abroad, for almost *five Years* together, at the Expence of above a *Million* more, sent out of the Kingdom, if all of it did actually go; besides other Subsidies and Pensions to *foreign Princes*; for some of them do not deserve even the Name of *Subsidies*? — — Do you believe that all those *various Treaties*, in which We have been lately engaged, have really been of any Advantage to the Nation; or that our *naval Expeditions*, in Pursuance of them, (to say nothing of our *domestick Armada's*) have been attended with any other Effects than rotting our *Ships*, destroying Multitudes of our *Seamen*, and driving others into *foreign Service*? — Are you of Opinion that the fraudulent Management of the *Charitable Corporation*, or the Sale of the late Earl of *Derwent-water's* Estate, ought to have gone unexamined; or rather are you not convinced that such flagrant Iniquities ought to have been punished in a much more severe, and exemplary Manner? — Are you not as firmly convinced that if the Enquiry into the *Frauds of the Customs* had not been defeated, in so shameless a Manner, by the very *Person*, who first set it on Foot, a Discovery might have been made of Abuses no less enormous and unjustifiable than
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the *others*?—Lastly, do you in your Consciences believe that the late *Excise-Scheme* was calculated for the Interest, Happiness and Safety of a *free People*; or even that it did not contain a *whole System of Oppression*, and strike at the very Vitals of our *Constitution*?

On the other Hand, do you think that a vigorous Opposition to *such Measures* as I have just mentioned, and the most strenuous Endeavours to bring the *Authors* of them to Justice, were either unseasonable or illaudable? Lay your Hands upon your Hearts, *Gentlemen*, and declare whether you do not believe that *this Opposition* and *these Endeavours* have been of Service to your Country, in several Instances, though they may not have proved so effectual as could have been wish'd.—But besides the *bad Things*, which the *Gentlemen in the Opposition* either prevented, or opposed, We must not pass over those *good Things*, which they have actually obtained, or attempted to obtain for us. Don't you think that the *Act, to prevent BRIBERY and CORRUPTION, in the Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*, was a well-intended, a salutary, and a truly glorious Law? I am afraid, indeed, that it hath not had all the Effect proposed by the Legislators; and, what Law may not be evaded, when the Evasion of it is countenanced, and encouraged by *Those*, who ought to put it in Execution? But I have the Pleasure to observe, at the same Time, that the Design of *this Act* hath not been intirely defeated, notwithstanding all the Artifices of the *Agents of Corruption*. It hath, at least, put a Stop to their dealing publicly for *Boroughs* here in Town, and rendered that iniquitous Merchandize more difficult, dangerous and expensive. We know, indeed, by fatal Experience, that there
are

are Men, even of plentiful Fortunes, who are not ashamed to undertake this *dirty Office*, and to degrade Themselves into the *lowest Suborners of Perjury*; for That is now the Case of every Man, who *bribes* another to vote against his Conscience, and to swear that He does it without *Gift*, or *Reward*. But besides the *Prostitution* and *Infamy* of such an Undertaking, it is likewise attended with *Hazards*, which no wise Man in tolerable Circumstances would run, upon any Account; for however these *Borough-Brokers* may flatter Themselves with Hopes of Protection from HIM, who employs Them, They will certainly find Themselves disappointed, whenever the *Parliament* shall think fit to enquire into *such Practices*; which are grown so notorious, and have been so loudly complain'd of by all Parties, in their Turns, that I hope the Day of Enquiry is not far off. — Again, can you deny the *late Act*, for preventing the infamous Practice of STOCKJOBING, to be a wise, an honest, and an efficacious Law? Hath it not been already attended with surprizing Success, in clearing the Alley of those Swarms of *Locusts*, which used to infest the Center of Trade, and prey upon the Properties of an industrious People? — Both these beneficial Acts are owing to the Assiduity and Vigour of those *Gentlemen*, who pass'd under the Denomination of the *Country Party*, in the last Parliament; nor are We less indebted to Them for their Endeavours to procure us several others, of the same publick-spirited Nature. — Do you think, *Gentlemen*, that the Nation would have suffered any real Damage, or Inconvenience, if the *Pension-Bill*, the *Place-Bill*, and the *Qualification-Bill* had been passed into Laws? Are not *such Laws* still necessary to preserve that *Independency* of the House of Commons

on the Crown, which is the Basis of our *Constitution*, and without which it would soon degenerate into the worst Kind of *arbitrary Government*; That is, a *Government by Will*, such as *Tiberius* exercised, with a *prostitute, dependent Senate*, to palliate all his tyrannical Measures, and even to enforce the Execution of them? Nay, are not *such Laws* more necessary at this Time, than in any former Age; since the Means of destroying *this Independency*, by *Places, Pensions, and Bribes*, are infinitely more extensive than they ever were before; and even the Morality of employing *these Means* hath been publicly avow'd and defended? When Things are brought to such a Pass, it is high Time for a *British House of Commons* to exert Themselves; to vindicate their own Characters; and to shew the World that They are really the *Guardians*, as well as the *Representatives of the People*. — Is it not absolutely necessary, for Instance, that some Enquiry should be made into the Manner of the late Elections in *Scotland*; and if the Charge laid in the *Protests of several noble Lords*, upon that Occasion, should appear to be as well-founded, as it is plausible, ought not *such Practices* to be severely punished, as a downright Invasion of our *Constitution*? In what Shape *this Affair* will come before you, or how you may think fit to proceed upon it, I shall not pretend to conjecture; but as it will probably come before Parliament, in some Shape or other, We may assure ourselves that you will examine it to the Bottom, and do something at least to prevent, for the future, the absolute Nomination of *sixteen Members to sit in the other House of Parliament*, and perhaps double the Number in your own.

Give me Leave, *Gentlemen*, to repeat and inculcate it on your Minds, that you ought not to give up so glorious a Cause, if you should happen to meet
with

with some Discouragements at your first setting out ; but to pursue it with invariable Zeal, and indefatigable Application. You must consider that the Evils, of which We complain, are grown very obstinate, and cannot be eradicated without Time and Trouble. But do not therefore despair, nor suffer yourselves to be tired out of the Attempt. It may give you some Consolation to reflect that even *inconsiderable Minorities*, heartily united amongst Themselves, and inflexibly resolved to pursue the Interest of their Country, have frequently work'd Themselves up to *Majorities*. Nay, you cannot forget that about *seventy*, or *eighty Gentlemen*, in the last Parliament, gain'd so much Strength by their Steadiness and Resolution, as to throw out the *most pernicious and execrable Bill*, that was ever offered to a *British* Parliament.

Upon the whole, *Gentlemen*, as This is one of the most critical Conjunctions, that ever *England* saw, We rely upon your Prudence, your Impartiality, your Vigour, and your unwearied Perseverance in the Discharge of that high Trust, which is committed to you, and which you have so many Obligations to discharge with the strictest Integrity. You are lately come up from different Parts of the Kingdom, where you have heard the *Voice of the People*, and can be no Strangers to the *Sense of the People*. You know their *Wants* too ; as well as the Falshood of those confident Assertions, that the Nation was never in a *more flourishing Condition* than at present, and that all our Complaints proceed only from a *factious Disposition in the People*, without any just Cause, or Reason, in the Circumstances of Things. You have seen in what Manner *some Members of the late Parliament* have been hiss'd out of their Counties, or Boroughs, with the strongest Marks of Resentment, for acting contrary to

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the known Sense and Interest of their *Constituents*. You have seen how others have been received with universal Applause, and almost Adoration, for consulting and pursuing both. In short, *Gentlemen*, you cannot plead Ignorance of our *Misfortunes*, or of our *Grievances*; and therefore We have the strongest Reasons to hope and expect that, if you have any Regard for the *publick Good*, or even for your *own private Interest*, rightly considered, you will immediately take our unhappy Case into your Consideration, and apply some effectual Remedies to it. If you do This, the Blessings of the present Age will accompany all your Endeavours, and endear your Names to the latest Posterity. If you take another Course—but I am so loth to suppose that any Considerations will prevail upon you to act such a Part, that I chuse to suppress the Consequences of it; and shall conclude in the Words of the late Mr. TRENCHARD, who not only took the Liberty of addressing you, on a like Occasion, (tho' far less momentous than the present, and when We were in much better Circumstances than at present,) but was Himself a Member of your illustrious Body.

This Gentleman, having shew'd that the *Dabblers in Corruption* are Losers by it, in the main, when They come to cast up their Accounts, proceeds thus.

* “ But even *these corrupt Advantages* are no
 “ longer to be had upon the same Terms. The
 “ Bow is stretch'd so far, that it must break, if it
 “ goes farther. *Corruption*, like all other Things,
 “ has its Bounds, and must at last destroy it self,
 “ or destroy every Thing else. We are already
 “ almost *mortgaged from Head to Foot*. There is
 “ scarce any Thing, which can be *tax'd*, that is
 “ not *tax'd*. Our Veins have been opened and
 “ drain'd so long, that there is nothing left but
 “ our

* Cato's Letters, vol. 3. p. 280. 3d Edit.

“ our *Heart's Blood*; and yet every Day *new Oc-*
 “ *casions* arise upon us, which must be supply'd
 “ out of *exhausted Channels*, or cannot be supply'd
 “ at all. How think you, *Gentlemen*, This can be
 “ done? What has been raised *within the Year*,
 “ has not been found sufficient to defray the *Ex-*
 “ *pences of the Year*; and will any one amongst
 “ you, in Times of full Peace, consent to *new*
 “ *mortgage the Kingdom* to supply the *current Ser-*
 “ *vice*? And if you could be prevail'd upon to
 “ consent to it, how long do you believe it can
 “ last, or that you can find *Creditors*? And what
 “ can be the Consequence of *such Credit*? Sure it
 “ must make the *Payment desperate*; and if ever
 “ That grows to be the Case, what think you
 “ will be the *Event*? Who do you imagine will
 “ have the *sweeping of the Stakes*? Do you be-
 “ lieve *Those*, who brought your Misfortunes up-
 “ on you, will pay the Reckoning at last, or save
 “ themselves by endeavouring to compleat their
 “ Wickedness? There is no Way, *Gentlemen*, to
 “ prevent all *these Evils*, which lour over and
 “ threaten you and us, but by preventing, or re-
 “ moving the *Causes* of them; and I hope you
 “ will think it worthy your best Considerations,
 “ and most vigorous Endeavours to do so, rather
 “ than to suffer under, and be undone by them.

“ By doing this great Service to your Country,
 “ you will not only consult your *Reputation*, your *own*
 “ *Interests*, and the Interests of *Those*, whom you
 “ represent; but, in the most effectual Manner, will
 “ serve your *Prince*, by making him a glorious
 “ King over an happy, satisfy'd, dutiful and grate-
 “ ful People. A *great and rich People* can alone
 “ make a *great King*; their diffusive and accumu-
 “ lative Wealth is his Wealth, and always at his
 “ Command, when employ'd for his true Glory,
 “ which

“ which is ever their Happiness and Security ; and
 “ the Figure he does, or can make among *foreign*
 “ *States*, bears exact Proportion to the Affections,
 “ which he has amongst his *own People*. If his *People*
 “ are disaffected, his *Neighbours* and his *Enemies*
 “ will despise him ; and the *latter* will insult him, if
 “ they think his *Subjects* will not defend him ; and
 “ therefore since nothing is wanting on his *Maje-*
 “ *sty's* Part to make him belov'd, honour'd, I had
 “ almost said ador'd, by his *People* ; it lies upon
 “ you, *Gentlemen*, to remove all *those Causes*,
 “ which at any Time hereafter, by the Fault of
 “ others, may fully and blemish his high Character.
 “ It is your Duty, and your Interest too, to ac-
 “ quaint him with all Miscarriages in the *inferior*
 “ *Administration*, which you have frequent Oppor-
 “ tunities of knowing, and which 'tis next to im-
 “ possible he should otherwise know. *Princes* are
 “ seated aloft in the upper Regions, and can only
 “ view the whole of Things, but must leave the
 “ Detail and Execution of them to *inferior A-*
 “ *gents*.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

Your affectionate Fellow-Subject,

and most obedient, humble Servant,

A FREEHOLDER.

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